FELLOWSHIP

October 1943 Vol. IX—No. 10

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Love conquers want of love as water conquers fire. Men's deeds of love today are like taking one cup of water to save a cartload of wood on fire. When the fire is not put out, they say water does not conquer fire. And this again so encourages their want of love that at last all of it is gone.

—MENCIUS

Wanted—A Christian College

by

G. HERSCHEL COFFIN

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The Specter of Intermarriage by Wendell Thomas
War Is the Enemy by Sarah Cleghorn
Occupation—Pacifist by Betty Dodds

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A Letter from Europe

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FROM MY STANDPOINT

John Haynes Holmes

The surrender of Italy would seem to vindicate completely the Roosevelt-Churchill policy of "unconditional surrender." This policy was harshly criticized when announced at Casablanca, as certain to prolong the war. When Mussolini fell, and the United Nations offered no terms to the Italian people, the President and Premier were accused of driving Badoglio into Hitler's arms and turning an easy victory into a prolonged and costly conquest. But now the Italian fleet has fallen into our hands, and Italian armies are out of the war. The triumph would seem to be complete.

I

And so it is, from the military viewpoint—which I sometimes think is the only viewpoint ever considered by Mr. Roosevelt and Mr. Churchill! But this is only the beginning of "unconditional surrender," which, unless history betrays itself, is destined in the end to reap the same bitter fruits in this war which it reaped years ago in this country in the Civil War. The very phrase was coined by General Grant at the famous siege of Forts Henry and Donelson, and was applied once again and finally by this same officer at Appomattox. During the war itself, however "unconditional surrender" was tempered always by Abraham Lincoln's compassionate and understanding attitude toward the South. This policy meant to him no ruthless defeat of his enemy, but just a confession of willingness on their part to return to the Union, from which he insisted they had never actually been separated.

It was only when Lincoln was dead, and the government was in the hands of Thaddeus Stevens and his cohorts, that the "unconditional surrender" policy developed its true character. These Stalwarts, as they were called, were interested not in binding up wounds and achieving peace, but in teaching a prostrate foe that they had been beaten in a war which had cost them everything. The southern states were denied readmission into the Union; they were garrisoned by armies of occupation; they were ruled by the iron hand of military tyranny; they were humiliated and exploited, punished as criminals and hated as enemies. All the unhappiness and bitter alienation between North and South which followed in the wake of the Civil War, and has endured to this very day, were the result of an "unconditional surrender" policy carried through with absolute consistency. Only as the spirit of Lincoln has little by little crept back into the nation's life has the situation been saved at all.

Is there any such spirit in our present program of "unconditional surrender"? Perhaps in the case of Italy, with whose people we have never had any quarrel—though the willingness to do business with Badoglio and his King, rather than directly with the people themselves, is ominous. We shall see what we shall see! But in the case of Germany and of Japan, there is not a trace. "Unconditional surrender" evidently means, as applied to these two enemy countries, all that it meant to the Black Republicans when they applied it to the beaten South in 1865-78. Vae victis! Woe to the world tomorrow, as to America yesterday, if this policy is made thus to mean what it says.

II

The evils of "unconditional surrender" are psychological and spiritual as applied to peoples, and far outweigh any military advantages as applied to governments and armies. These evils are twofold in character.

On the one hand, "unconditional surrender" means helplessness for the vanquished, and helplessness means subjection, and subjection means an inward sense of shame and humiliation to match the outward posture of subserviency and obedience. In the days of chivalry, when a knight had overthrown his adversary and laid him prostrate in the dust, he would leap from his horse and give his enemy his hand, to raise him again upon his feet. But there is nothing of this high sentiment today in our military policy of "unconditional surrender." When the enemy is in the dust, there he must lie, that he may realize his defeat, learn his lesson, and be punished for his fault. One would think we would have learned our own lesson in the last war, when we deliberately abandoned our armistice terms of surrender, and at Versailles denied the Germans all just and decent treatment. This was "unconditional surrender," though it was not called such, and it planted in the soil of the German soul those seeds of resentment and angry hate, to say nothing of despair, which flowered at last in Hitler and the Nazis.

The second evil of "unconditional surrender" lies in the minds not of the vanquished but of the victors. As it makes the former resentful and hateful, so it makes the latter proud, arrogant, and cruel. It places absolute power in the hands of those who have won the fight, and "absolute power," as Lord Acton said, "corrupts absolutely." It corrupts a soul, which should be sweet for the healing work of reconciliation and peace, with the poison of reprisal and revenge. Under the sway of such passion, there is desire not to "love mercy," nor even "to do justice," least of all "to walk humbly," but only to wreak one's own bitter satisfaction upon the foe and therewith take it out of him for good and all. This is defeat for the victor in his inward life, to spoil and thus to forfeit the reward of his outward effort. "Unconditional surrender" makes magnanimity impossible, and it is magnanimity alone that can "achieve and cherish a just and lasting peace."

III

"Unconditional surrender" has won in Italy a resounding victory. It is a war-victory, pure and simple, which means immeasurably much to the armed forces of the United Nations in their continuing struggle against Germany and Japan. But is it a peace-victory for the people of the United States, and of England, and of Italy, and of the world—for the people who, in the words of the Pope in his September 1st address, "desire peace . . . and are tormented by doubt whether continuation of such a war can be in accordance with national interest, or reasonable and justifiable before Christian and human conscience"? All this remains to be seen!

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FELLOWSHIP

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Wanted—A Christian College

By G. HERSCHEL COFFIN

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THE American College of Liberal Arts is typically and characteristically a "church-related" college. The best traditions of liberal education in America have been carried on by the private, independent colleges founded and fostered by the Christian churches. Liberal education was in the beginning, education for the *liberati*—free men. And Christianity has historically moved, sometimes slowly but nevertheless steadily, in the direction of liberty and freedom.

But notwithstanding this historical movement, an examination of the trends in "higher" education for the last seventy-five years will disclose certain tendencies that run counter to the core of the Christian genius. As a result, the "Christian" college does not now organize and utilize its priceless resources for social reconstruction. On the contrary, it retards social change and perpetuates the status quo.

I

What are these trends in "modern" higher education? I think at least six items must be mentioned.

1. *Stereotypes.* During the last three-quarters of a century many hampering stereotypes about what education is, what its objectives are, and how it is "acquired," have solidified and frozen the life out of liberal education. Among these stereotypes are the following:

That "the mind" means intellect.

That education consists of learning and retaining information; that the test of education is the ability to recall and to reproduce information.

That the individual should "acquire" an education and later "go out" into life.

That education is something the teacher does to the student.

That education is transmission of information: "subject matter."

That telling is teaching. The school therefore is organized about talking periods for the faculty.

That since research is a highly specialized, departmentalized process, instruction must also be strictly departmentalized.

That the curriculum must be organized in water-tight compartments, that is, departments of instruction.

That "high scholarship" is indicated by complete, accurate verbal reproduction of subject matter.

That "whatever exists, exists in some amount and can therefore be measured." That the amount of education an individual has acquired can therefore be measured.

That there is a standard degree of fullness (of information) for the educated person.

That this degree is known as the Bachelor's degree.

Of course, no college professor would admit that he believes all these things, but the educational machine is constructed and the academic process is carried on as *though* the faculty believed them. (Note the rules and regulations they set up to govern the procedures of the Registrar's Office.)

2. *Secularization.* John C. Bennett defines secularism as "the organization of life apart from God, as if God did not exist." In its curriculum the college has organized its "subject matter" for the most part, precisely in this manner. The college has not often actually taught atheism, but in putting the emphasis upon content instead of upon function it has done something even worse. It has *ignored* the fact of God. It has "organized life as if God did not exist."

3. *Departmentalization.* Secularization could not have proceeded so smoothly but for the atomizing of knowledge that departmentalization has entailed. Since the business of the college was supposed to be the transmission of knowledge—subject matter—we have proceeded to classify the knowledges and to arrange them in logical ladders of learning. The student is then expected to "master the field" by climbing these departmental ladders of learning.

The church-related college has a department of religion, but it is only another department (compartment) of instruction, well along in the alphabet. The list of departments in the catalogue reads: "Archeology, Art, Biology, Chemistry, . . . Psychology, *Religion,* Romance Languages, Sociology, Zoology." Religion thus becomes a competitor of other offerings. Some Religion may be required, but students generally regard it as merely another one of the necessary evils like required English, college algebra, foreign language, etc.

Still, the worst aspect of departmentalization is the assumption that the business of the college is to transmit knowledge; and that the way to do this is to chop knowledge up into little daily doses. The college thus becomes a sort of glorified atomizer. It vaporizes knowledge and then tries to spray it on by means of the lungpower of the faculty. Most of this precious matter (subject matter) is lost in transit. That which does finally land soon evaporates because it is irrelevant to life.

4. *Standardization.* Flowing from these stereotypes and techniques a standard academic monetary system has evolved. The result is the "credit" and grading system with its units and points.

The Registrar's office is a sort of intellectual savings bank in which one may make deposits at stated intervals, at the rate of about 16½ units per semester. At the end of eight semesters (if one is lucky) one may then cash in on the deposit slips and draw out a certificate to the effect that he has achieved a standard degree of fullness of information,—i.e. the Bachelor's degree. He is then certified to have "acquired" an education.

Moreover, great standardizing agencies like the American Association of Universities and the various regional associations of colleges and secondary schools determine the pattern to which an institution must conform if it is to be "accredited." This standardizing procedure precludes individuality among colleges and stifles experimentation. The institution's name is expunged from the accredited list the moment it falls short of or deviates from the set pattern. The standard pattern is based almost completely upon the stereotypes noted above.

5. *Scholarship.* But even more vicious than this unrealistic procedure is the artificial academic idea of what high scholarship means, together with the competitive drive that supports it.

The *A* grades go to those who have high linguistic abilities; to those who can remember and reproduce what they have been told, although this remembered content may not have the least relation to the emotional, social and spiritual maturity of the student, which is the chief mark of genuine education.

6. *The War.* One of the most interesting sociological phenomena in connection with the emergency was the precipitancy with which the colleges throughout the country abandoned their liberal curriculums, such as they were, and went all out into the war. A psychiatrist surely would suspect that here was a deep unconscious motivation springing from a guilty conscience and from a strong feeling of insecurity.

Numbers of colleges that could not secure military units now are closing their doors. Those that do secure such units cease to be liberal colleges. In both cases, "liberal" education is laid upon the shelf for the duration.

In the end, this may prove to have been a great blessing. "Back to normalcy" will be as difficult in the educational world as it will be in other areas of the social order. This crisis of the college may indeed become its opportunity. Whether it will or not will depend upon whether we have the wisdom, love and courage to make it so.

II

These stereotyped ideas and practices are essentially untrue to reality, and an educational system based upon them cannot be true to the Christian way of life. What actually has happened is that modern higher education has become at best unrealistic because it is irrelevant to life; and at worst, disintegrative. Having placed the emphasis upon analysis, the college has accumulated—like great grain elevators—a stupendous mass of information which it has then laid down in great barrages upon adolescent generations. And this, with little hint as to the meaning of it, or as to any principle of synthesis.

What, then, is the way out? By what path can the liberal arts college reverse its trends and utilize effectively its tremendous academic resources for social reconstruction?

Two major operations seem to be indicated. The first is a drastic reorientation in the philosophy of education and in the statement of its goals. This would involve the complete abandonment of the stereotypes listed above. The second would be a new technique; a new organization of educational resources for the achievement of the enlarged and reconstructed goals of higher education.

Let us attempt first a restatement of the nature and the objectives of the educative process, in the following propositions:

That the universe is more like an organism than it is like a machine.

That the universe is a friendly, hospitable place with infinite resources for an abundant life for all men.

That the *first* objective of education is the development of every individual as a mature, healthy person. (Note that this includes emotional and social maturity as well as physical, and mental as well as physical health.)

That the *second* objective of education is the encouragement of a mature, healthy social order; that is, one that is truly democratic.

That a person is a bio-psycho-socio-spiritual organism, and that the business of education is to cultivate the healthy maturation of this total organism. Education is thus vastly more than learning.

That *training* is founded upon the psychology of habit formation, and consists of the acquisition of skills and techniques.

That *education* is founded upon the maturation of the higher mental processes, namely, interpretation (intellect); appreciation (feeling); organization (will).

That there are five great life situations with respect to which every man must learn to adjust himself by proper interpretation, appreciation and organization:

the Sex-Marriage-Home situation;
the Job situation;
the Leisure Time situation;
the Community Life situation;
the Life Philosophy situation.

That the curriculum for liberal education should consist of activities relevant to each of these life situations.

That education must be a lifelong process. We do not first "get" an education and then "go out and live." We must continue to become educated as we live. Education is an aspect of life.

If this orientation is correct then the college has two distinctive tasks. The *first* task is to minister to the growth and maturation of the student in connection with each of the master life situations. This task corresponds to the first goal of education. It means preparation for creative family life; intelligent vocational choice and vocational preparation; creative use of leisure time; the development of social responsibility for productive community life in both the local and the world community; and an inner integration of the personality and a Christian orientation toward the total universe, including the social order.

The *second* task of the college is to seek for a Christian reconstruction of the social order. The college has never really faced up to this obligation. Too often it has conceived its task to be to "prepare" young men and women to "go out" into the world and to get on in the social order "as is." Of course, it has talked of "service," but too often the implication has been that service is a means instead of an end. The old adage that "honesty is the best policy" has been revised to read: "service is the best policy."

The social order is the framework within which a person works, plays, lives both his home and his community life, and develops his total world orientation. The college therefore must attack consciously the problem of blue-printing a mature social order. This probably would mean a re-examination and a restructuring of the very concept of democracy itself.

III

The second major operation required if the college is to make effective use of its tremendous resources for Christianizing the individual and the social order is the *substitution of the situation technique for the subject-matter technique.*

The traditional academic method of instruction is the subject-matter technique. This is based upon the assumption that the task of education is the transmission of information; that this can be done best by specialists in the different subject fields; that an educational institution must have subject-matter departments of instruction; and that the student must climb many separated ladders of learning.

It is a fact that for purposes of research, specialism is absolutely essential. Departments of research are mandatory. From this fact we have slipped into the easy but utterly false assumption that the education of the adolescent and the young adult requires corresponding departments of transmission.

Instead of content departments of instruction, let us set up functional divisions in our curriculum. Our curriculum then will consist of five divisions:

The Division of Family Life.
The Division of Vocations.
The Division of Avocations.
The Division of Social Planning.
The Division of Philosophy and Religion.

The situation technique then will proceed by two steps.

1. It must always start with a problem or a project. The problem or project will lie in one or another of the above divisions. It must be a very real, practical, and personal problem. It may be "What vocation shall I follow?"; "How to handle a gang of incorrigibles"; "What kind of world government to advocate"; or "Do I really love this girl?" There are plenty of problems in each of these divisions to keep one busy throughout a four-year period.

2. Once the problem is clearly defined, the next step is to canvass all relevant "subjects" for principles and insights that will throw light upon the problem. In the case of incorrigibles, for example, this would lead one immediately into many branches of psychology—developmental, social, mental hygiene—into applied sociology, and into aspects of economics, government, education, ethics, etc.

This method breaks down or obliterates departmental fences. The student seeks a solution for a problem, and does not attempt at the moment to master and to remember the logical structure of all branches of psychology, or of sociology, or of economics, by little daily dribbles. If he should become interested in studying the logical structure, so much the better, but in that case he would then have a natural motivation for doing so.

Departmentalization and specialization are necessary for research, but correlation and synthesis are the keys to good teaching. We have known for a long time that we learn best by doing, but we have proceeded as though we learn best by being told.

I am keenly aware of the academic objections to the situation technique. One of them is: "You have to know your subject matter before you can apply it." No. The learning situation involves an immediate problem that demands personal knowledge as a tool. The way to learn biology or psychology is in relation to a concrete problematic situation for which one must have a solution. You learn *as* you apply.

These five life-situation divisions involve most, if not all, of the "content material" of the conventional curriculum. The difference lies in the principle of organization and use. My plea is simply that we take these steps in order to make this "material" *functional* in the lives of persons and in the corporate life of society.

IV

Such a reorganization would pretty well obliterate the conventional picture of college. Entrance requirements, the daily schedule, "outside activities," eligibility "subjects," "courses", the Phi Beta Kappa "standards" (definitions) of scholarship, rules about pre-requisites, distribution, concentration and sequences, graduation requirements . . . would all be disarranged and pied.

This kind of a college would be more adult. It would be more like a folk school, a work camp, a conference, an institute, a commission, a research laboratory, a professional association. Nevertheless, basically it would be a converted college of liberal arts.

I am not supposing for a moment that well-established, well-endowed, historically rooted church-related colleges with large and influential bodies of alumni are going to jump into a reorganization along the lines here suggested. They will try to get back to normalcy after the emergency as quickly and as completely as possible, in order to carry on the tradition of "Christian education."

But the much larger number of smaller, less well-endowed and younger institutions that find themselves facing extinction may well consider the experiment of such a reorganization. They might consider the fact that the socio-politico-economic revolution of the middle decades of the Twentieth Century eventually will force a reorganization of education and that they have a better chance of surviving if they speak to the deeper needs of humanity now. They might do well to proceed upon the faith that God does work in human history and that they may become more effective agents for peace just in so far as they become more truly functional in their educational endeavor.

Peace is not simply the absence of war. It is a total way of life that makes war irrelevant. Peace means, in the words of George Fox, to "live in the virtue of that life and power which takes away the occasion for war." There *is* a way of life—a way of social life, of economic life, of political life—that would take away the occasion of war. This is the Christian Way.

At this hour of crisis in liberal education, the need is for a college or a group with the courage, the imagination and the experimental mind to undertake a project in higher education that would be organized upon a functional basis. Such an institution could be the spearhead in finding that total Way of Life.

One obstacle always arises in discussions of social equality between Negroes and whites: the specter of intermarriage. Here is a clear, sane evaluation of its importance.

The Specter of Intermarriage

By WENDELL THOMAS

Author, "Hinduism Invades America" and "A Democratic Philosophy"

AT the heart of the race problem lies the fear of marriage between members of different races. A Southern gentleman of the old school does not hate the Negro; he loves him. As a child, perhaps, he was suckled by a Negro mammy, swam naked with Negro boys, ate and slept in a Negro's cabin. As a man he will sacrifice for Negro charities. Yet he wishes to keep the Negro "in his place." He knows that if he allows political and economic equality he will next be compelled to grant equality in the social sphere, which will open the door to romance and marriage between the two races. The Southern gentleman does not choose to become grandsire to a half-breed.

This position is realistic. Apart from extermination only two courses are open to a dominant race dealing with another race in the same locale: subjugation, or cooperation involving some intermarriage. Subjugation means the Helots of Sparta, the lower castes and outcastes of India, the Jews of Nazi-held regions. Intermarriage means—well, to most of us it denotes a revolting embrace, a mongrel offspring, and a final blob of uniform color over the earth. The choice does not seem to be pleasant. Nevertheless, we might ask a few questions.

In what sense is mixed love revolting? It is well known that white men freely and repeatedly have taken dark women as objects of their amour. But do white women willingly mate with dark men? The writer has met several who have chosen such a course. For instance, a beautiful, lily-white Viennese girl fell in love with and married a Hindu of the darker sort after rejecting a handsome young Englishman. Apparently mixed love is not always repugnant. Perhaps it seems worse to age than to youth, and for reasons unconnected with personal selection. One generation after Lincoln freed the slaves, a Philadelphia anthropologist declared: "A white man entails indelible degradation on his descendants who takes in marriage a woman of a darker race." This brings us to the question of offspring.

Human "Hybrids"

How good is a human hybrid? Men commonly have held that a half-breed has the vices of both races, the virtues of neither. "God created the white man, and God created the black man, but the devil created the mulatto." Even scientists have supported this view. Louis Agassiz studied human crossbreeding in Brazil and declared it fatal to the best qualities of the white, the black, and the Indian. The resultant breed, he affirmed, was an indescribable type deficient in mental and bodily energy. Gustav Le Bon wrote that inter-breeding destroys the soul of a race, without which it cannot recover from losses or pass through ordeals. Today several British and American scholars view with alarm the increase of intermarriage.

This attitude has found copious legal expression. Passing over Hitler's attempts to purify the German folk, we may note that Australia has a law forbidding entrance to all colored races, including Negroes, Hindus, and Chinese. The United States immigration law restricts colored races, favors the white. One state in the Union, legislating against intermarriage, has defined a colored person as anyone with a colored ancestor, no matter how remote. This means that just one drop of "Negro blood" will make a white man black before the law, while a drop of "Indian blood" will make him a legal redskin.

One suspects that economic privilege supports racial doctrine of this kind. The crossbreed usually suffers economic oppression. His white ancestor may have been a trader selling the contraband goods of civilization and mating with colored women. The spawn of such unions naturally would grow up to adulthood without benefit of proper food, much less of adequate education. Furthermore, they would feel society's disapproval. Regardless of their biological quality, mixed-breeds so handicapped give the impression of being inferior.

We should not assume, however, that all mixed races give this impression. Among the hybrids whom experts reckon superior are those in Java and Sumatra, who combine the intelligence of the Netherlanders with the beauty and strength of the natives; and the Chinese-Hawaiians, whose fun-loving Hawaiian ancestry tempers the ambitious industry of the Chinese. Given a birth in wedlock and freedom from economic oppression, the mixed-breed will turn out to be fairly normal if not superior.

A case in point is the "Intermarriage in Hawaii" described by Margaret Lam in *Sociology and Social Research.* Several generations ago a blue-eyed English sea captain was strolling with a friend on the outskirts of Honolulu when they encountered two beautiful Hawaiian girls fleeing in terror from a cow. Welcome, romance! The Englishmen properly saved the girls who, with Hawaiian hospitality, invited the foreigners to their homes. Soon there were two loving couples and two solemn weddings.

Our captain and his wife raised six children, six little "half-whites" who enjoyed legitimacy, good food, and social approval. On maturity each married and founded a family line. What happened to the entire family group? According to the popular view, these crossbreeds eventually would drop to the slums and pass into public infirmaries, poorhouses, prisons, and insane asylums. But the facts speak otherwise.

For one thing, only the first and fourth family lines remained mixed. The fifth line went Hawaiian in appearance and culture, while the second, third, and sixth lines —contrary to what a Southern gentleman might expect— went Caucasian. That is, the members of these family branches kept marrying whites until they looked, thought, and acted like whites and finally were accepted by whites as members of the white community.

Judging from the callings pursued by members of all lines, fair, dark, and medium, the family as a whole is economically and socially advanced. In the family history we find a warehouse worker, a taxi driver, a fireman, a policeman. We find also engineers, schoolteachers, social workers. And we find, in good number, magnates and high officials, many of them *not* in the Caucasian branches.

Among the important members, one was the first Hawaiian to become a sea captain. Another, who married a noble Hawaiian lady, became a rancher. One girl married a chief; another, a civil engineer who was a son of the first American sugar planter in the Islands. One man became a major; another, a senator and mill owner in Hawaii. One comely girl, three-fourths white and one-fourth Hawaiian, married a Chinese merchant who became wealthy and lived in Honolulu as an elegant gentleman. His non-Chinese wife bore him sixteen exotic children, twelve of them girls. These became ravishing young ladies who entertained naval officers and other notables visiting the Islands.

The men who wooed and won them include a high naval officer, a factory owner, a judge, a professor of English, and a Southern gentleman. Only white men were chosen by these racially mixed girls. Their father gave each as a wedding gift a mansion furnished with gold and silver and heavy carved pieces imported from China. Not all mixed-breeds live in the slums.

One Uniform Color?

Granted that human hybrids will develop like human beings under favorable economic and social conditions, what shall we say about intermarriage reducing our piquant variety of races to one dull uniformity? We should recognize at the start that there probably is no such thing as a pure race on earth today. During the latest age of receding glaciers, every isolated human group may have been molded by its special environment into a form of body and culture different from other forms. But since then—before and after the dawn of history—men have migrated hither and yon in their hunting and commerce, war and adventure. Repeatedly incoming "sons of God" have mated with native "daughters of men," and thus created newly mixed races.

"Saxon and Norman and Dane are we," sang poet laureate Lord Tennyson of Englishmen. Had he known recent science, he could have sung (but would he?): "White and tawny and black are we." For it seems that the colored peoples led captive to Rome went forth and merged with the lighter stock in Europe and Britain. Europe and Britain, in turn, have poured into our region of North America racial streams that have variously mingled.

To keep our race pure is a futile aim if our race is not pure to begin with. We are all of us more or less mixed. Nevertheless, we can henceforth mix heredity according to the proportions desired. Human races are not different species but varieties of the same species. We are like chrysanthemums at a flower show: white, yellow, red, bronze. We can be "bred for points." It is not as though the white man lived at the peak of virtue, the Negro at the base, and mixed-breeds in between. Excellence varies along many lines, and the colored races have their share. It may be less important to aim at a certain color than to aim at personal satisfaction and well-favored children.

We come now to the final question: will a toleration of intermarriage break down race distinctions? Probably not. There are fundamental limits to color fusion. One is "consciousness of kind," to use Giddings' term. We are not to suppose that every young man, at the advent of social equality, will forthwith choose for himself a wife from another race. Most men will choose girls of their very own kind. This is natural, and should be expected. It is only the exceptional person who will mate with a person of different color. Family tradition, pride, propinquity, and congeniality will all work on the side of race distinction.

Another limit to world-wide uniformity of color is climate. People will tend to turn black in the Congo, tan in China, and white in Scandinavia no matter what their previous race. Even today, a swim once a week at Waikiki will keep a Caucasian all his life the color of a Chinese. There are no strictly white-skinned persons in Honolulu except those who hide from the sun. In the long run, color is a function of place.

A third factor preventing the fusion of mankind into one monotonous type is the emergence of sub-races; that is, a creation of new races without destroying the old. Spanish America has presented the world with mulatto, mestizo, zambo, and certain other sub-racial combinations of Spaniards, Negro, and Indian. Each is characterized by distinctive traits and achievements. The population arising from the marriage of the English captain with the noble Hawaiian girl took the form of three distinct racial groups: white, Hawaiian, and part-Hawaiian. Not only did a medium color emerge; the old white and Hawaiian races were strengthened. Thus intermarriage does not erase color distinctions.

We may reasonably conclude that intermating will produce new racial groups in the future as it has in the past. Whether intermating is mere cohabitation or dignified intermarriage depends on whether one race subjugates or cooperates with another. In either case, race will not be obliterated. In the human chrysanthemum show we shall find racial varieties as pure as the purist can make them. We shall find certain mixed varieties also. It may relieve us to know that the mixed varieties, if given social approval, will grow as well as the others.

If the oppressed Negroes and their white friends today accept the biblical, democratic concept of the kinship of all men and reject racism, then we have to be governed in our own actions by this fact of human kinship or we shall only be plotting our own defeat.

A. J. MUSTE, in
What the Bible Teaches About Freedom

WAR Is the Enemy

By SARAH CLEGHORN

I

WHAT is wrong with our love for home and comrades, that in their name the earth is so often drenched with blood? How comes it that this familiar tenderness, that everybody feels, has not saved a single nation of us all—or scarcely one—from sooner or later sending fire, sword, and the yoke of subjection into the loved homeland of another?

We do these things to others, and others to us, out of devotion, indeed, not to home and comrades, but to an idol, much older than our country, our religion, or what we call our "race." It is an idol, too, that we fear and hate, and therefore, though shudderingly, obey: war. War is the reversal, the contradiction, of the mutual nature of normal life. It is mutuality crucified with the head downward, as in some early Roman martyrdoms. Nothing is more mutual than war, but it is mutuality crazed, agonized, and suicidal; like the bayoneted man who clutches the bayonet in his frenzy, and holds it fixed in the wound. So nations cling to war.

In war's strange court of justice each side is at once both accuser and accused. Each is the judge, each is the criminal, and each is the executioner. Both become the corpse.

Has this insane mutuality of war ever been seriously contemplated? Does anyone, in reciting the evil doings of the "enemy" remember that that enemy is saying the same things of us? Perhaps the situation is too obvious for educated eyes to see; for education usually starts from the world as given. Perhaps the ignorant are too modest on account of their ignorance to trust their own senses.

Whenever plain folks begin plainly, simply, and boldly to consider and think for themselves about war, they will notice this curious paradox, and by consideration of it reach a point where—if they turn for help to Lovingkindness—they can perhaps experience the rare miracle of

Put yourself in his place.

This miracle requires a mighty effort; and the boundless illumination it sheds over human affairs comes and goes in an instant.

> Momentous to himself as I to me
> Has each man been that ever woman bore.
> . . . I felt this truth one instant, and no more.

But in that instant Lovingkindness opens the eyes of patriotism, and it sees that its real enemy is war.

II

In that unforgettable instant when we "saw life steadily and saw it whole," we realized that the Smiths and Joneses of those other nations—races—classes, believe as much in their side as we do in ours, sacrifice as bravely for it, drag up their sick, collapsing courage by the same touching efforts, dread, suffer, and mourn with the same anguish, hope as gallantly as we do that wading through bloodshed and hate will somehow lead to a better life for us as well as for them, and try to silence, with the same panic haste, all creeping doubts of their side's righteousness and our side's wrong. As soon as we realize this, we irresistibly pity them, and we are able to conceive that they sometimes pity us. Both they and we, it is clear, are living in "a world we never made," and that was never made by Lovingkindness. And yet we are daily, hourly, making it worse. How can we help but make it worse, as long as we struggle against each other, instead of against our mutual enemy? We are only tying one another, in a gruesome partnership, to the horns of a prehistoric altar, smelling of many centuries of blood.

War is the enemy, the traitor, the spy, the *agent provocateur,* of the human race; to whom we ought never to surrender, for whose cruelties we should make no provision (i.e. no armament or conscription) to fulfill the lusts thereof; with whose savage proposals we should hold no parley, whom we should never, by one single murder, appease.

There is nothing in the life of man that war is good to. It is especially the enemy of home and children. From prehistoric times the siege of a city meant keeping food away from the hungry homes within. Nowadays war starves the children and homes of a dozen countries at once, by besieging almost a continent. Seldom mentioned by newspaper or radio, war is busily starving, at this moment, children in all parts of the world. Some, as in Greece, hunger is shoving directly into their graves. Some, as in Belgium, are perishing in adolescence of tuberculosis. Some are becoming feeble-minded, rickety, or insane. In the ghettos of Poland typhus fever takes them. In France babies are born undernourished and stunted; in Spain, in spite of nominal peace, the children are hungry still from the late war. Thirty million children in China are orphaned and homeless.

Perhaps it will be from this slaughter of the innocents that we shall first comprehend that war itself is the enemy. We shall see, in a blinding light of reason and fact, *that modern war and human childhood cannot both survive.* Who will hesitate which to save?

In every country there are now a handful of patriots who realize that the enemy is not certain bad persons, but a universal bad and bloody habit. They confront it with the only power it fears: Lovingkindness. So far as their purse and strength can reach, they feed the hungry, shelter the homeless, moderate the hatred, on both sides. Some of them are called, with expressive simplicity, Friends. Some belong to the Fellowship of Reconciliation. Some of them confront the burning idol, the old Moloch of war by twos and threes, some confront it in solitary courage. Each of them is loyal and loving to his own country, and to all mankind.

Foremost among them are upwards of seventy thousand young men of military age, called conscientious objectors, war resisters, or by other names as new to history. Summoned by their respective governments to "Curse me this people," they reply, like the Prophet in the Bible, by blessing their fellow men altogether.

Occupation: *Pacifist*

By BETTY DODDS

THIS is a report about two unimportant pacifists who found the implications of peace in simple terms, in the small, familiar habits of seven days a week, learning that even the most restricted circumstance contains unbounded freedom for pacifist effort. If the account has value, it is for its very lack of distinction. It might be about all the other plain pacifists who encounter the same restrictions and feel, similarly, the great momentum of events pressing square against them. It might be about any man who putters away, on a CPS project, high purposes, skilled hands or a college degree. It might be about any woman who realizes the implications of "unconditional surrender" and whose protest is dinned out by the detonations of block-buster bombs. It might be about any pacifist who wonders how, within the contracting area of his opportunities to work for peace, he can still make his testimony clear. It's the story of pacifists everywhere who, alone and anonymous, are learning to turn an opinion into a full-time job.

My husband had been in CPS from the first day the first camp opened, finally leaving with a nervous breakdown after long tussles with questions about the relativity of CPS to a positive protest against war. I had worked on the editorial staff of what is known, euphemistically, as a "smart" fashion magazine. This year we moved to a snowed-in farm, compared to which a CPS spike camp might seem almost metropolitan. We saw perhaps four people a week, did work that was far removed from our training and tastes and further removed from the war. The situation was comparable to CPS, in isolation, in tedious work, in safety that seemed almost obscene while the world outside was so precarious. Yet this experience taught us that pacifism, rather than being inhibited by circumstances, instead can transform circumstances. Therein might be new evidence for the discussions about the value of CPS —discussions that frequently dilute opposition to war into opposition to conditions that are only tangent to war.

Pacifist Discipline

We made no spectacular psychological discoveries, added no new words to the non-violent vocabulary. We learned, merely, that convictions can be enlarged, and excitingly applied, within cramping conditions. Paradoxically, discipline was one way by which we found freedom within confinement. Pacifists are free to set for themselves specific standards of thought and habit, free to be mentally meticulous, free to make themselves do things they don't want to do. A man in CPS can choose to grow a formidable beard and to nap on project time. He can also choose to prove that he is capable of disciplining himself more effectively than he could be disciplined by a top sergeant. He can choose to synchronize his personal impulses with social necessities. It can be as voluntary a choice between order and confusion as a preference for the clarity of Mozart to the clatterings of Scriabin. Discipline then becomes something else. Deliberately outlined, sturdily kept, it releases forces of freedom within the individual. He is finally free of his own tyrant inertia, of the anarchy of his own impulses.

In our case, the discipline was most needed for the adjustments of making a marriage. It is practical pacifism to use sense-of-the-meeting methods on drawing up a budget. It was only soul-force that kept my husband amiable when he tried to teach me about check-drafts on a furnace. The connotations of pacifism to family relationship are immeasurable, and as yet they have scarcely been tested. To merge two contrasting temperaments on a level above individual selfishness requires discipline in its deepest sense, and frequent use of "the reconciling power of love"! In the simplest situation of a home are, daily, new opportunities to apply our convictions, new needs for the kind of discipline that is a high expression of freedom.

Imagination Opens A Door

Imagination was another way by which to achieve liberation within restrictions. Cut off from the hustling committees, the forums, the social action projects, we were forced to find other methods of working. Believing in the significance of the first word in the phrase "*Fellowship* of Reconciliation," and assisted by Rural Free Delivery, we wrote to other pacifists, even to some we did not know personally, on impulse, as we might have talked with them if we could. There hadn't been time before to write letters encouraging a pacifist who had made a difficult stand, or thanking another for his article, or his sermon, or just for his example of living. It was heartening to feel "compassed about by so great a cloud of witnesses." Isolated, we were in good company.

Also, there hadn't been time before to study legislation that affected the pacifist movement, or, as a lobby of one member, to write politicians. We added to the troubles of the District of Columbia Postal Service, but we came to a fresh comprehension of our duty to be informed. Again, it turned out that there were clubs in the nearest village, even a cautious Missionary Society, that wanted to hear about feeding Europe. Soon our imaginations had out-stripped our free time. A situation that had seemed closed to pacifist activities turned out, instead, to be crammed with them.

Chris Rohlfing, of the CPS camp at Powellsville, Maryland, has said, shrewdly, "We men in CPS too often try to move mountains, not by faith, but by butting our heads against them." There he hints at the third, and most certain way to find freedom within confinement. It is the way I can say the least about because there is the most that might be said. Each must find it for himself. Restrictions rim out little areas of effort, but within them we can refine our self-discipline, reaching a maturity that will give validity to our demands for ampler spaces in which to work. Even now, our faith, forever free, can leap these present limits, and scan spaces we cannot see.

A Symposium

Shall the FOR withdraw from the NSBRO?

One of the most important and most delicate questions confronting the annual conferences of the FOR is this of whether or not the Fellowship should continue its participation in the National Service Board for Religious Objectors, thereby sharing in liaison activities between the government and the Service Committees which administer Civilian Public Service. An extensive memorandum, outlining six positions on the subject, was sent recently to all Fellowship members. The statements on these pages are not intended to represent all the arguments pro and con, but merely to indicate the ways in which some FOR members are thinking.

'NO'

says Mrs. Henry Hill Pierce, Vice Chairman of the FOR and Secretary of the Episcopal Pacifist Fellowship

No pacifist likes the Selective Service Act or the provisions for the COs contained in it, but as long as it is the law we as loyal Americans have to make it work as constructively as possible. This the NSBRO has tried to do for the last three years, the members of the Board giving without stint of their ability, time and patience. The FOR has had a voice in the decisions of the Board through the membership of our Chairman.

From the small and experimental beginnings of CPS, the NSBRO has worked steadily to improve the situation until now in addition to the camps there is a wide variety of detached service. The CPS program is unsatisfactory to many COs, but pacifists are all individualists. It is, however, difficult to understand why we want to have exceptions made for us instead of being willing to take the consequences of our faith.

One of the charges leveled against us with some reason is that we cannot work together. Surely the cause itself is more important than any one of us. If in the midst of war a great religious pacifist organization breaks off from the Board set up specifically to care for our interests, a blow will be dealt to the cause that will be serious in its consequences for years to come. To use the services of a Board of which we are a part for three years and then decide that the same Board, working in the same earnest and constructive way, is unworthy of our confidence is not only childish and headstrong, but comes close to dishonesty, if after we get all the advantages we then break off the connection.

We are trapped in a world situation for which we have a constructive contribution, but instead of focussing our united attention on that great objective we degenerate into a quarelling family. Quarrelling at present with the NSBRO, but if the FOR withdraws from the NSBRO there will be a serious quarrel within the FOR itself, resulting in a possible split that will do irreparable harm.

There must be somebody to negotiate with the Government for the COs. In the NSBRO we have such a body of fine, highminded men who have now had three years of experience. Let us stand behind them.

'YES'

urges J. Passmore Elkinton, Treasurer of the FOR and member of the American Friends Service Committee.

There are so many good things about the work of the National Service Board for Religious Objectors, that one hesitates greatly to desert it.

My judgment, however, is that the work of the FOR is to publish Christ's gospel of love and non-violent resistance and I think we had better dissociate ourselves from the NSBRO. Its position, as I see it, is that of an agent for the U. S. Government in the management of conscript labor. That is not a suitable position for the FOR and has been making conscription easier for the nation.

If, aside from its propaganda work, the FOR needs to participate in enterprises of physical service, these, in my judgment, should be for volunteers. The burden of management and cost of conscript services should remain upon the government.

I see no objection to the FOR's acting as a channel for remittance to the NSBRO of donations for its cost for such FOR members as are in the CPS camps. I am more interested that we should focus against conscription legislation and in the support of pacifist prisoners.

May the good God guide the Council at Chicago to his will in this delicate matter.

Arthur Swift, as well as all those who have been working on the NSBRO, deserve our gratitude and appreciation even though some of us feel the pacifist churches, from the beginning, should have declined to lift the burden of conscript labor costs and management from the shoulders of the government.

'YES, *IF*—'

A letter from CPS would have FOR and Friends make joint decision.

Eleven CPS men here, representing different units, have come to a general agreement on the question of future Friends' participation in CPS. The gist of our agreement is this: The continued participation of the Friends or their withdrawal is not a matter of basic ethical principle—sharing in the administration of conscription, enforcing involuntary servitude, etc. The arguments of this sort seem to us about equal on both sides. If COs can accept conscription, COs can, for the same reasons, share in administering it. We think rather that it is a practical matter. Can COs help bear the war-burden the distraught human family is now staggering under better if the Friends stay in than if they get out? The failure of Units 99 and 101*, and hoped-for sequels in the line of child-care work, correctional school work, general hospital work, or even the use of some project-time for training in such work *convinces us that our usefulness is hardly likely to be greatly reduced under a government system.* We have a chance to fight forest fires and conserve soil and give custodial care to the mentally ill or defective now, and we will in all probability under the government. Therefore, our advice to the Friends is that if no new and better openings are actually gained by the time of their October meeting with Hershey, they quietly withdraw, without regard to possible consequences.

I hope the FOR will keep close to the American Friends Service Committee in this hour of decision. I do not want it to be an irresponsible and recriminatory group. While I consider its function as a prophetic, non-project sponsoring fellowship distinct from that of a Service Committee, I believe that it should use its consequent greater freedom of movement with a high sense of responsibility for reasoning with and "leading" the courageous organizations that wade in and accept administrative responsibilities. I hope that it will encourage the Friends to withdraw, but stay in the NSBRO with them if, in the final hour, they can do no other but stay in.

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* CPS units intended for work in China and for training in postwar relief and reconstruction, ended by congressional action.

'NO'

A CPS man points to positive values in the camps

From a purely pacifist point of view, CPS has too many limitations. But, if one thinks of pacifism as a tool to help achieve social and economic improvements, CPS has possibilities. The "economic improvements" do not include the question of whether we get better jobs in CPS or not. Getting better jobs is a desire fostered by our present economic system of "get ahead," "be ambitious," "get rich." We have all lost our lives (at least, our common touch with people) by being pacifists, in order to find them, somehow. The finding will not occur through getting personal advancement at this time. (Admitted, there is nothing wrong with getting a position for which one's training qualifies.)

Perhaps, from my pleasant situation in New York, it is too easy to be idealistic, and to say that there is too much emphasis on getting "work of national importance." I feel that there are bound to be drudgery jobs in any group. Even if we were all attending college instead of CPS camps, someone would have to do the washing and cooking for us. In a camp, this is even more true; the quality of the job is not as important as the living together.

In this light, I consider the American CPS movement as ahead of the English detached service system. Pacifists here have, willy-nilly, been living together, and learning how to be pacifistic in a gruelling, month-by-month endurance contest. Those who were pacifists because of protest continued to protest against things at camp, and their pacifism came to be seen for what it was. (Naturally, such a cheerful view of the benefits of CPS will not be popular until the end of CPS, when people have a chance to look back).

To one who is only a pacifist, CPS and its compulsory conscriptive nature, is and should be abhorrent; but, as I have said, to a pacifist who has a positive philosophy of social reconstruction, CPS has possibilities.

But the American Friends Service Committee should take warning from the example of Vichy France, and not bend too much before a power with which, fundamentally, it does not agree. Vichy France ruled for the Germans in the unoccupied area. Thus, the people of France were subject to a divided rule, but really by the same power. Certain French patriots expressed satisfaction after November of last year, when the Germans occupied the whole country, and the entire French nation was experiencing the same iron rule. By this, I am not saying that we should unite ourselves in prison with our brother COs who are absolutists, but that the Service Committee, which represents us, should not make any compromises which are more than compromises, and thus come to occupy a position similar to that of Vichy France.

Finally, let me give the basis on which I think there is hope for CPS. It is a theoretical one, as it should be. I am not only against war, but I am looking for a moral equivalent of war. I find such a substitute in the idea of a Peace Army, of a group of young men who volunteer to absent themselves from home for a year or two to build, to construct, with little monetary return from society. While I hesitate to say that Plato advocated such an institution, I cite Sir Thomas More, who suggested it in his *Utopia,* written in the sixteenth century; this book contains many proposals which have since been carried out. I think that the Friends were in the process of creating such a voluntary army with their work camps.

CPS, while unfortunately compulsory, is, to the extent that the Friends control their camps, a continuation of this idea, which holds so much promise for the world. CPS holds promise for the future and should not be abolished, unless the government makes further encroachments which take the value out of it. CPS is not entirely compulsory, since there is a choice of a government camp.

Detached Service Gains

	Sept. 1942	Sept. 1943
Camps and units	46	86
Men in CPS	4500	6500
On special projects	116	2149
Types of projects	5	15

Special projects now include health units in Florida and Puerto Rico; technical research work for government agencies (agriculture, etc.); 34 mental hospitals; five training schools for delinquent children; three general hospitals; four agricultural experiment stations; Coast and Geodetic survey work; fire-fighting "paratroopers"; dairy farm work and dairy herd testers, and other miscellaneous projects that take 100 men.

British Friends Refused

British Quakers, invited in 1939 by the government to organize "work of national importance" for conscientious objectors, declined, explaining:

"The Society of Friends therefore finds itself unable to respond to your invitation, because it believes that in undertaking to organize alternative service under the Military Training Act it would be impairing its testimony against the Act iself."

One final suggestion: In the future, the Friends should get in touch with those who are about to be inducted, and let them know what to expect in a Friends camp, and advise them to go to some other if they are not interested in the central ideas of a Friends camp. Perhaps this is a job for NSBRO to perform. But I think there is a lot of life left in the CPS idea, if a homogeneous camp can be established.

CONSIDER CAREFULLY

before taking action, warns DeWitt Wyckoff, member of the Executive Committee of the FOR

1. Each of us must so far as possible (a) approach the problem objectively and with inner honesty, (b) be guided by the spirit of God within, (c) see the issues clearly, and (d) ascertain accurately the pertinent facts. Not one of these four is easy; combined they are exceedingly difficult, almost impossible.

2. With respect to the facts alone, our members will differ widely. How then can there be unanimity of opinion? Do we have respect for the judgment, trust in the inner integrity, and believe in the spiritual insight of each other? If we do, the Fellowship has little to fear from its decision of this vexing problem.

3. We all have the unfortunate tendency to select, for our own consideration and for passing on to others, those facts that support our position. Those supporting NSBRO administration of camps have given little publicity to the facts that:

a. The British Friends refused to aid in administering the government program of compulsory service for conscientious objectors,

b. The Selective Service regulations have for a long time seemed to imply that NSBRO could have an official representative in a government camp to help in the various phases of the camp program,

c. Before a camper is "furloughed" to a dairy farm, he must agree that NSBRO shall collect his wages and, after paying him 50 cents a day and making other minor deductions, shall make the balance available after the war for the general purposes of the government, so that it will be used largely for the payment of war bonds and other war expenses, and

d. The official report of a camp director may initiate proceedings leading to an order to report for induction into military service or to criminal prosecution and imprisonment.

On the other hand, those taking the contrary position may not recognize adequately the precious values that NSBRO has continuously attempted so jealously to safeguard at great sacrifice of time and money.

News from the Peace Front

Denver Non-Violent Team Ends Theatre Jim Crow

A practical demonstration of the effectiveness of non-violent direct action was given white and colored citizens of Denver during the past summer. As a result, Denver's theatres now admit patrons to all sections without respect of race.

The Denver "Workshop of Non-Violent Action," growing out of an FOR-sponsored race relations conference, engineered a deliberate campaign aimed at breaking down illegal segregation in two of the city's leading theatres. After protests to the management had failed to secure results, a group of Negro and white young people, including FOR members, purchased tickets to the Broadway Theatre and attempted to sit together on the first floor, where the management had refused to permit Negroes. When they were denied entrance and threatened with arrest for "violating fire laws," another group outside raised placards and commenced to picket the theatre. Police, obviously forewarned, at once arrested seven individuals.

A hearing before the Chief of Police a few days later, however, resulted in the unconditional release of the seven demonstrators and agreement by the authorities to "discuss" the matter of observing Colorado's Civil Rights Law with the theatre managers. Within a few days the theatre managers had voted to change their policy.

Included among the demonstrators was Margaret Rohrer, Rocky Mountains Secretary for the FOR.

Peace Leaders Hold Conscription Seminar

Forty or more executives and leading members of various pacifist organizations will spend eight days this month, from October 16 to 23, in a seminar on "Conscription, Coercion, and Disarmament," at Pendle Hill, Wallingford, Pa. Subjects for discussion will include various proposals for an international police force and the enforcement of peace; the implications of conscription to women, labor, churches, and the home; and disarmament and conscription after the war.

Among the delegates will be representatives from the Fellowship of Reconciliation, the Friends, Brethren and Mennonites, the War Resisters League and the Women's International League, and others.

Hull Peace Proposals Hit by FOR Leaders

The recent proposal of Secretary of State Cordell Hull to preserve peace by force is called "fallacious and dangerous" in a formal statement just released by the Executive Committee of the FOR. Referring to Mr. Hull's radio address of September 12, the Committee pointed out that it was evidently intended as an "authoritative statement of the foreign policy by which the Administration is guided in the important decisions now being made daily and by which it will be guided in its efforts to shape the post-war world."

Such proposals, the statement continued, which envisage a world of completely sovereign nations pursuing their own national interests, are "proposals not for peace but for an armed world living under an armed and uneasy truce."

The Committee called for the creation of "such equitable economic and political conditions under a true federal union as will be to the advantage of all peoples."

Margaret Ann Osborn New Forerunners Leader

Margaret Ann Osborn, formerly Director of Religious Education at the Plymouth Congregational Church in Fort Wayne, Indiana, began work September 8 as national secretary of the Forerunners, FOR-sponsored organization for high-school age young people.

Miss Osborn is a graduate of the University of Nebraska and the Hartford (Conn.) School of Religious Education. In addition to her work in the Fort Wayne church, she has been active in the Nebraska Christian Youth Council, of which she was an officer, and in work with the Y.W.C.A. and Girl Reserves.

The new secretary found a mounting interest in Forerunners both within and outside the ranks of the FOR itself. All literature printed for it has had to go into second printings and some of it into third and fourth editions. In addition, two new studybooks, delayed in production by a rush of other work, are expected to be available by the first of November.

Conferences Discussing Commission Reports

As the first of seven FOR national conferences opened in Chicago on September 24, great interest was shown in the discussions scheduled on the reports of Fellowship commissions appointed last spring. Round-table meetings on the subjects covered by the commissions promised to be well attended at all conferences.

Preliminary reports by six of the commissions were laden with stimulating suggestions on prison reform, economic outlook for world peace, prayer, rural life, non-violent direct action, and vocations. All commission reports and suggestions will be presented for discussion at all conferences.

Meanwhile members of the Fellowship were preparing to attend the conferences nearest them. National officers were prepared to be at all conferences, with John Swomley, associate secretary, Bayard Rustin and James Farmer all scheduled for a lengthy period in the Far West.

Conference dates and places are as follows:

East: Race Street Meeting House, 1515 Cherry Street, Philadelphia, Pa. Friday, October 1 through Sunday, October 3.

Rocky Mountains: c/o Margaret Rohrer, 440 East 13th Avenue, Denver, Colo. Friday, October 1 through Sunday, October 3.

South: Fisk University Chapel, Nashville, Tenn. Friday, October 8 through Sunday, October 10.

Pacific Northwest: c/o Mary U. Farquharson, 4033 University Way, Seattle, Wash. Week of October 18.

Northern California: c/o Jean G. McKay, 1625 Buchanan Street, San Francisco, California. Friday, October 22 through Sunday, October 24.

Pacific Southwest: c/o Glenn E. Smiley, 1837 N. Berendo, Hollywood, Calif. Friday, October 29 through Sunday, October 31.

FOR Secretaries on Trip Through Far West

Three national secretaries of the Fellowship of Reconciliation will spend all the month of October and part of November in various states of the Far West. John Swomley, associate secretary, will visit Colorado, Utah, Idaho, Washington, Oregon, California, Arizona and Texas between October 3 and November 7. James Farmer and Bayard Rustin, race relations secretaries, will spend most of their time in Southern and Northern California, respectively. Details of their itineraries may be obtained from regional offices.

Prison Investigators Report To Bennett; ACLU to Act

The status of Stanley Murphy and Lewis Taylor, conscientious objectors confined to the Medical Center for Federal Prisoners at Springfield, Missouri, continued uncertain this month even after completion of an "impartial investigation" authorized by James V. Bennett, Director of the Federal Bureau of Prisons.

The investigating committee, consisting of Austin MacCormick, of the Osborne Association, Charles W. Palmer, of the Friends, and Dr. M. R. King, of the U. S. Public Health Service, turned in three separate reports to Mr. Bennett. The prison head later released a mimeographed statement reviewing the whole Murphy-Taylor affair and including a "summary" of the investigators' reports.

Both MacCormick and Palmer criticized the prison administration for putting the men in "isolation rooms" for refusal to work, though Dr. King, whose organization staffs the hospital, submitted that they were put there for "good cause."

In the release, which was made available to the public press, Bennett admitted for the first time that the infamous "strip cells," in which the men were confined naked, had been used for punishment. Previous statements had implied that the prison had no strip cells, that the men were not confined in them, that the men had requested assignment to the cells, and, finally, that the cells were used for therapeutic treatment only. The most recent statement admits that Murphy and Taylor were assigned to these cells by the Disciplinary Committee "which prescribed isolation with loss of all privileges for a period of one week."

All three investigators, referring to Murphy's charges that he had been severely beaten by prison guards, reported that they found "no evidence to substantiate" the charges.

Present Status Vague

The statement did not make clear what would be the future policy of the prison toward the men. However, it admitted that on August 20 Murphy had been denied further visiting privileges, and that the "privilege of mingling with other prisoners" had been "restricted." This action was taken, Bennett declared, when Murphy continued to violate "flagrantly and wilfully the rules of the institution and to attempt to incite other inmates to refuse to work."

The statement also, for the first time, included vague insinuations about the sanity of the men. It refers to "personality abnormalities" as one of the reasons for transferring the men from Danbury after their hunger strike, and speaks of "unusual behavior" without any further definition of that term. All previous pronouncements had made clear that the men were completely sane and were not considered as psychotic or psychiatric cases.

The American Civil Liberties Union, which had held up habeas corpus proceedings pending completion of the investigation, announced through its director, Roger Baldwin, that Bennett's statement did not counter the essential facts of the case, and promised to proceed with court efforts at release immediately.

British Leaders Plead For New Zealand Pacifist

Members of the British Parliament have sent an appeal to the New Zealand Minister of the Interior asking for the release of Ormond E. Burton, imprisoned chairman of the New Zealand Christian Pacifist Society. Mr. Burton, who was decorated for gallantry during the last war, was imprisoned for writing "subversive" material in the Society's Bulletin. Although the jury recommended clemency under a law whose maximum penalty is one year, the judge claimed the power under a 1910 law to impose a two-and-one-half year sentence.

Subscribers to *Fellowship* are asked to send in their postal zone numbers with any changes of address. Some copies are considerably delayed for lack of these numbers. All changes of address must be in the *Fellowship* office by the first of the month preceding the issue on which it is to take effect.

About COs

William K. Hefner, member of the FOR and organizer of various efforts to win public sympathy for India's struggle for freedom, was sentenced August 24 to 2½ years in prison for refusal to report to CPS camp.

Francis Hall, FOR traveling secretary who completed a prison term at Danbury for refusal to register, pleaded *nolo contendere* at a hearing September 20 on a charge of refusing to report for physical examination and was remanded for sentencing at a later date.

Arnold Satterthwait, Philadelphia CO who served a one-year sentence in Danbury Prison, was sentenced on September 8 to a second term of 3 years.

Two pacifist photographers, one of them formerly in CPS, have begun a joint effort to compile a photographic record of CPS for the FOR. They are seeking aid from photographers in CPS and from sympathetic pacifists outside who can help with the acquisition of film, flashbulbs, and other materials. Letters should be sent to Lester Mattison, 3330 N. Oliver Avenue, Minneapolis, Minn., or to Carold Welty, Bluffton, Ohio.

More than 2,000 conscientious objectors, including 1,253 Jehovah's Witnesses, have been convicted of violations of the Selective Service Act, the Department of Justice has revealed.

Failure to register	241
Failure to return questionnaire	38
Failure to report for physical	50
Failure to report for induction (Including 686 Jehovah's Witnesses)	1,046
Failure to report to CPS (Including 542 Jehovah's Witnesses)	618
Non-cooperation in CPS	50
Counselling or aiding evasion	24
Miscellaneous	4
	2,071

Secretary of State Hull proposes

a post-war world in which peace will be enforced by military might

Secretary Hull obviously hasn't read

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whether maybe—just maybe—the international police force boys might be right, you'd better read

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2929 Broadway **New York 25, N. Y.**

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South: Constance Rumbough, 1804 Grand Avenue, Nashville, Tenn.; *Midwest:* (Not yet filled), 740 Rush Street, Chicago, Ill.; *Northwest:* Mary Farquharson, 4033 University Way, Seattle, Wash.; *Northern California:* Jean G. McKay, 1625 Buchanan Street, San Francisco, Cal.; *Southwest:* Glenn Smiley, 1837 N. Berendo Street, Los Angeles, Cal.; *Rocky Mountain:* Margaret Rohrer, 440 East 13th Avenue, Denver 3, Colo.; *Rural:* Warren Nelson, Merom, Ind.; *Refugee:* Marion Frenyear, 2929 Broadway, New York 25, N. Y.

Letter from Europe

These excerpts are taken from a letter received this summer from Dr. Siegmund-Schultze, the FOR representative in Zurich, Switzerland.

There is still hardly any news from *Russia,* neither from those deported from the frontier states nor from other friends of our cause. The same applies to the regions within the range of the Russo-German war. Only in the southern part of the war territory, the reconstruction work of the Orthodox Church, initiated mainly from Rumania, has created certain possibilities for religious activity.

News from *Poland* continues to be sad, especially as regards the Jewish population which used to live there or was deported there. The Baltic countries suffer badly from the war. Our friends in *Esthonia, Latvia* and *Lithuania* find it impossible to maintain contact with the remaining groups of the FOR. Oral reports regarding the welfare of individual friends in Reval, Dorpat, Riga and Kaunas indicate that they are in good health, but neither they nor we have received any news from those deported.

In *Finland,* war conditions prevent the holding of meetings. However, Greta Langenskjold is in communication with the various members. The Rev. Sirenius and Prof. Iversen are continuing their work in Helsinki. The University reopened last winter. The Lutheran Church is maintaining its contacts with the Scandinavian churches.

We receive hardly any written reports from *Norway,* but occasional greetings reach us via Swedish friends. It seems that since the return of our former Secretary Ole Olden [from Grini Concentration Camp] no one from among our closer circle of friends has been interned. On the other hand, the situation of those fighting for the churches is very difficult; Bishop Berggrav is still interned, or rather confined.

The church in *Sweden* is doing a great deal to fulfill the wartime ecumenical tasks, through assisting her Scandinavian neighbors materially and spiritually as well as through maintaining contacts between the churches of the warring nations. The activities of Dr. Natanael Beskow received open recognition when he was the first one to be given the Wallin Medal for services on behalf of Swedish hymnology. The summer institute of the League for Christian Community will have as its topic "Christian Policies for the Post-War World."

In *Denmark* our friends are working on the restricted scale permitted by the times. Head-mistress Ellen Petersen continues to publish the periodical "Fredsvarden." At the end of last year a meeting took place which discussed the tasks of Christians in present times. A certain collaboration between the Danish FOR and the Quaker Center there is maintained. Contacts with other countries naturally are very difficult, but are cultivated by the churches.

We have received many oral reports concerning our friends in *Germany.* The death of Otto Weiss has brought home to us the realization that the generation of our World War I fighters is disappearing. Grete Sumpf has been forced to give up the significant work she had undertaken for the Quakers because the "Arbeitsdienst" of her home town requisitioned her services. The Quakers have been extremely hampered in their work for the past year, and their periodical can no longer be published. There is increased understanding in church circles of the radical peace attitude, and appreciation of the FOR is growing once again.

In the *Netherlands,* any and all activity of our collaborators has stopped. Now and again, however, we receive news from our friends there from which we can gather that they are maintaining contact among themselves. The leading church circles are being pushed further and further toward martyrdom.

Suffering Great in Belgium

As before, suffering in *Belgium* is greater than in most other territories. We have passably good news from our closer friends there.

In *France,* internal unrest grows as the country is drawn more into the war. Our former secretary has been put in charge of the parish of Aubervilliers in Paris. He and his wife are comparatively well. Three of their children were able to spend some time in Switzerland to recuperate. Communications with Southern France have become somewhat easier. Difficulties in Southern France itself have increased tremendously since last summer, as is known. While the acute sufferings of the refugees have diminished somewhat, the foreign Jews are still in grave danger. The work of refugee organizations must continue to an increased extent under constantly more difficult conditions. The churches of France are sharing eminently in this work. The Ecumenical Council for Refugee Aid and the Swiss Children's Aid of the Red Cross as well as other international and ecumenical organizations are helping. The great assistance rendered particularly by our FOR friends in Southern France was temporarily endangered through the arrest of the Rev. Andre Trocme and Director Theis who were put into a concentration camp by French police but were released after six weeks. The discontinuance of American aid in Southern France has put tasks before the continental center of the International FOR which occupy us increasingly. The "Les Grillons" home in Chambon is maintained at the moment with means collected by the FOR in Switzerland. Contributions toward this work as well as towards the Paris activities will be gratefully received.

In *Switzerland,* FOR activities are hampered by the shape which "neutrality" has taken here, but gradual progress nevertheless is being made. In Eastern Switzerland, the "Church Peace League of Switzerland" (Kirchlicher Friedensbund der Schweiz), which is affiliated with us, is very active. They maintain local groups in Zurich and Winterthur, among others, which are able to hold meetings. They concern themselves particularly with Swiss conscientious objectors and foreign objectors. In Western Switzerland our members work in close contact with the Quakers. A local FOR group recently was formed in Geneva.

FOR Institute

The International FOR, together with the Swiss members and some other Swiss organizations, is planning an international Summer Institute to be held in the Bernese Oberland from July 17 to 25. The attenders are expected to be young people willing to devote part of their time after the war to peace reconstruction work. The institute will deal mainly with the question as to what the various European countries will need after the war. From this, representatives of the various cooperating agencies will draw conclusions as to what tasks are to be undertaken by the FOR, the International Civilian Service, and the Quakers. [Editor's Note—Since this was written word has come that the Institute was carried through successfully with ninety members of sixteen nations in attendance.]

The difficult situation prevailing in *Italy* does not permit our friends to seek contact with one another. The known personalities are being watched closely by the authorities. Correspondence with abroad is, of course, impossible, but now and again we receive oral reports.

Bulgaria is the only one of the Balkan States permitting regular communications with Switzerland. Our friend, Prof. A——, has at the moment an important position. The visit to Switzerland of his predecessor has opened up for us many possibilities of contact. Confusion in *Serbia* and *Croatia* is desperate. *Greece* suffers atrociously from privations. Reports from *Hungary* again indicate a slackening of nationalist feeling without there being, however, any strong impulses towards peace demonstrations.

Our friends in *Czechoslovakia* limit their activities to social work exclusively and thus have escaped serious harm so far. However, they suffer acutely from being cut off so completely from all fellow-believers.

Pro and Con

A PAGE OF COMMENT BY READERS

Readers are invited to contribute to this page. Please keep letters brief, since space is severely limited.

Progress of the War

The Editors,
FELLOWSHIP:

Those who would insist on a "fight to a finish" bring forward powerful reasons for their determination. One of their most popular arguments is to the effect that complete and crushing military defeat, followed by a dictated peace, is the sole way to teach "aggressor nations" that "war does not pay." This theory is founded on two false hypotheses: (1) It assumes that our enemies are conscious of being aggressors, or that their conquerors would be able to make them believe they were. It is strange that anybody old enough to have seen or studied more than one war should not know that every modern government regards its opponents as the aggressors and has little difficulty impressing this belief upon the great mass of its people. The harsher the terms imposed by a conqueror, the more firmly they will be convinced of its truth. (2) *Military defeat can never prove that it is disastrous to make war, but only that it is disastrous to make war on a party stronger than yourself.* When the people of a conquered country find themselves in misery and distress, they are still free to imagine that a victorious war would have brought them prosperity and happiness, while a people who have won all that victory can give, yet find themselves far worse off than before they fought, can hardly help realizing in some degree the emptiness of such triumph.

REBEKAH G. HENSHAW.

The Editors,
FELLOWSHIP:

It seems to me that Congress ought to demand now that the draft be discontinued. The more men that enter this colossal army of ours, the nearer we come to fascism and the harder it will be to return to a semblance of freedom and democracy.

I have noticed (and this is borne out by an article written by an army officer) that boys who have been educated in progressive schools, or brought up in progressive families (families who use child psychology in their handling of children) do not make good soldiers. The army officer who commented on it, deplored the fact and said "something must be done about it." He is all for discontinuing that sort of education, which makes individuals out of them —so they are "unfit for army training."

Thus it seems that progressive education is the only hope of the future. Psychology may be the answer. That is, intelligent handling of children, so their individuality is kept intact, and they simply refuse to serve as cannon fodder. The church has failed in this respect, or, rather, the church has cooperated with the state always to train obedient, useful servants, and not even *Christian* servants at that. Let us hope there is a wave of reaction against war and armies soon, and that educators recognize their opportunity after this war to propagandize the next generation to resist the discipline that makes for well-trained puppets, who willingly sacrifice their lives for the fatherland.

Actually I think the training and the "patriotic" sentimentality which the movie stars and such lavish on our armed forces, are making an army for the U.S. more dangerous even than the Nazi soldiers were for Germany. I see boys go off from home—good, honest, decent boys—unassuming and hard working, return in a year, fresh, swaggering brutes. Physically fit for *anything* and mentally fit for storm troopers. It isn't a healthy sign.

So I say that the draft should be limited. Congress has that power and Congress should be made aware of the danger to America, if *all* her young men are trained to be killers, if all of them are toughened up so they are unfit for private life.

MRS. JO CANTINE.

Letters to Prisoners

The Editors,
FELLOWSHIP:

An important but often forgotten factor in maintaining prisoners' morale is *mail.* A man in federal prison is limited to but seven correspondents at the very most (and often this includes Great-Aunt Minnie who is merely fulfilling a perfunctory familial obligation). Usually he can depend on his immediate family for regular letters—but those friends who begged before his trial to get on his list are all too often a fickle lot. Sometimes they do not write for months, a few never get around to writing at all!

You can imagine how a convict feels when mail call follows mail call and no word comes from the great outside. One of the worst aspects of being incarcerated is to be shut off from all one's friends and family. A letter, a cheerful message, to know one is not forgotten, makes it that much easier to pull time.

Considering that the men in jail are fighting the same fight as the pacifists who are fortunate enough to be outside, and that their being there is a protest, however feeble, against Selective Service, I feel very strongly that pacifists who are asked to write to COs in prison should either write regularly (once a week at best, once a month at least) or have their names withdrawn to give other more concerned friends a chance.

The ideal letter, I think, includes not only social discussion, but news and messages about mutual acquaintances. There is no prison regulation which prevents an approved correspondent from collecting messages from others who are not approved and including them in his letter. One of my correspondents did this conscientiously and I blessed him many times. But I fear the average correspondent has no conception of how different the situation is from the normal. Let me emphasize the fact again that a prisoner is completely cut off from everyone—except, at the most, seven friends and relatives.

ARTHUR DOLE

Writers in CPS

The Editors,
FELLOWSHIP:

It has often occurred to me that men with writing interests in the CPS camps and on special detachments, must have a feeling of marking time where writing is concerned. I have thought, that since any such effort needs a focus, I would like to offer my services as a reader, critic, custodian, if the men themselves care to make use of my literary experience in that way. I don't know what the outcome might be—whether publication would be feasible now, or later, or in what form, or at all. But at any rate, some good writing would stand a chance of preservation and compilation instead of being scattered and lost.

I believe the type of material should include, besides direct records of pacifist experience, art forms such as poetry and short stories. Intrinsic merit should be the standard of judgment, as with all writing; for to put subject matter alone as the ruling value is in itself a blow to literary integrity, and a mistake too often made by parties and causes of whatever kind.

This is a somewhat vague description, but the project is only in the making. At any rate, I shall be glad to hear from others about it, and to read any material that may be sent.

RUTH SUCKOW,
(MRS. FERNER NUHN).

The Editors,
FELLOWSHIP:

In wartime people, even pacifists, are super-busy; not always busy with things important or significant, but still busy. Conscientious objectors are busy, too often on projects not related to personal ambition or ideals. In this predicament I find myself: long hours of hospital work prohibit doing what seems to me necessary war work —writing, acting, working for pacifism and peace.

If any reader feels charitable, I would like to make this appeal: without volunteer secretarial help I must junk book and magazine article manuscripts—unfinished. Are there people sympathetic toward writers prohibited by law from starving in garrets?

EDWIN N. WHITEWAY, CPS

World Police

The Editors,
FELLOWSHIP:

Oliver Powell has asked for "clear pacifist thinking" on an international police force.

Real peace can come only with the world policed solely by the first and great commandment, "Thou shalt love God and thy neighbor." Obviously, the world is not educated to this. An international police force might be practical providing all other armies are scrapped. The force would have to be kept at a small minimum in size, and function on exactly the same principle as a municipal police force. Of course, it would also have to comprise equal representation from every country in the world. Doubtless even non-pacifist thinkers cannot conceive of peace with one half of the world policing the other half. That does not make sense.

JANET MCMILLAN

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